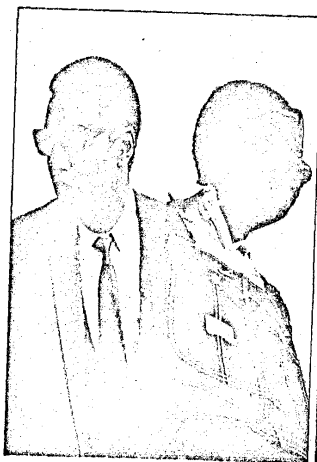


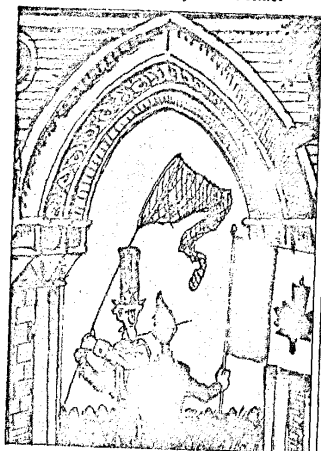
When I joined the Company
I expected to be involved in some
business or professional work of the office
and I found they were no business
and no professional standards
no spy or other activity
I realized when the CIA was about
to collapse I had no quit.



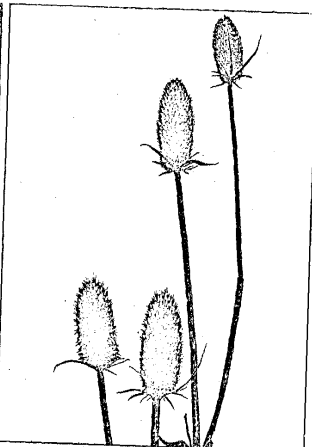
[Page 10] Stokely Carmichael



[Page 15] Three Tales



[Page 29] Canada



[Page 34] Conservation

Ramparts

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 10

APRIL 1967

MARGINALIA

- LETTERS 3
 EDITORIAL: The New Innocence 4
 SOCIETY: The Deer Party 5
by Paul Krassner
 MEDIA: The Father of Advertising 5
by Dugald Stermer
 OPINION: The Plot Thickens 8
by William Turner

ESSAYS

- MY FATHER AND
 STOKELY CARMICHAEL 10
by Eldridge Cleaver
 SANCTUARY 29
by Donald Duncan
 AMERICA THE RAPED—PART I 34
by Gene Marine

SPECIAL REPORTS

- THREE TALES OF THE CIA 15

LITERATURE

- BOOK REVIEWS 46
*by Noam Chomsky and
 Peter Collier*
 SOREL'S BESTIARY: 47
 The Giant Swallowtail

Apologia:

RAMPARTS has won the George Polk Memorial Award for excellence in journalism, an honor shared this year with the essay department of Time magazine. Any remarks about strange bedfellows would be fatuous, idle and undignified.

Our account last month of the CIA's secret financing of the National Student Association made the Washington press corps eat foundations for Lent. Outside the Internal Revenue Service headquarters ace journalists waited impatiently in line, two score deep, to get their cracks at scouring tax records in search of still another CIA conduit. RAMPARTS con-

sulting editor Paul Jacobs, who was there, swears reporters were trading off copies of foundation tax reports as if they were bubble gum cards. That is funny, but funnier still is the fact that America is the only country where an outmoded and incompetent intelligence agency could become a national joke and still retain its power.

In a continuing effort to bring the CIA's operations under some effective national control, and since we started the whole thing anyway, we take a further look at the CIA beginning on page 15.

Since we exposed the CIA, we have received our share of hot story tips from public-minded citizens. One gentleman, a professor, phoned to tell us that Disneyland is hollow underneath and right

wingers haul people below it to do terrible things, then hypnotize them and send them home. Another lady said that the Army was feeding LSD to the troops in Vietnam so they would turn on at the sight of bombs bursting and blood and so forth.

The February issue, with Senator R. Kennedy on the cover, took a full five weeks to reach subscribers through the post. This is outrageous, even for the U.S. system of mail. Remedies in such a disaster are few. If we were willing to give Postmaster General Larry O'Brien, a Kennedy man, the benefit of the doubt, we would say that it is President Johnson's fault. If we really wanted to cause trouble, we would, of course, threaten to nationalize the post office.—W.H.



Marginalia



Letters:

SUBVERSION

SIRS:

Recent disclosures by RAMPARTS [March 1967] regarding the CIA's penetration and subversion of the NSA and of other domestic and international student bodies, viewed in conjunction with mounting evidence of CIA manipulation of the Peace Corps, the labor unions, international aid programs, news and information media, cultural missions, academic circles, emigre groups, religious councils and scientific congresses, will shock hitherto unsuspecting Americans into realizing that for totalitarian amorality their own government is without equal among nations.

What, however, has yet to be brought home to the people of the United States is the extent to which similar methods are being employed to control thought, subvert principle, and stifle dissent in their own country, the "Land of the Free." As the 1964-66 invasions-of-privacy findings of the U.S. Senate judiciary subcommittee chaired by Senator Edward V. Long made clear, few indeed are the areas of government, industry, education and culture that are free of some form of big brotherism. With clandestine agencies like the CIA and the FBI, it is standard practice to manufacture false evidence, to build up incriminating dossiers on individuals regarded as a threat to the powers-that-be. Information from such dossiers is passed freely between the various agencies (even being transmitted to corresponding agencies in other countries to which the subject plans to travel), to be disclosed by them in whatever quarters it is likely to do most harm to the subject's reputation and interests, and all this without the victim being able to respond and clear himself, for he can only guess at the identities of his detractors and the precise nature of their machinations against him.

In the light of exposures of such practices on the part of the CIA and the FBI,

it is clear that nothing less than full-scale public investigations of the agencies must be carried out if any future of national probity and individual sacrosanctity is to be preserved.

D. HOWARD ADY
(ex-Captain, British Intelligence Corps)
Los Angeles, California

SIRS:

I have learned, with deep concern, of the present crisis in the United States, in which it has been revealed that the CIA has been subsidizing the international exchange programs of the NSA.

I take this opportunity to congratulate RAMPARTS on the fundamental role it played in uncovering this political scandal. If your magazine continues such excellent work, true international exchanges, unmotivated by Cold War interests, will multiply and bring about the direct contact between peoples, the only hope for the future of universal brotherhood.

ANDRE SOCIÉ
General Councillor of the Jura
Department and Mayor,
Champagnole, France

HOMOSEXUALITY

SIRS:

I am a homosexual myself, and consequently I speak from an intimate knowledge of the subject. Had Gene Marine ["Who's Afraid of Little Annie Fanny," February 1967] been more circumspect, he would not have gone to every conceivable length to fortify his he-manliness; he would have suspected that by over-emphasis of that point, he might well be exposing that which he was trying to conceal. Who started this denigration of Woman? Did it not start back in the Garden, in which the de-feminized male when caught redhanded looked around for some convenient alibi? And ever since, every lying male—including your Marine, has thought to pull the wool over the All-Seeing "I."

Far from being women-haters, the average homosexual is Woman's most faithful ally—the unfortunate thing is

that both of us should sacrifice our dignity on the altar of his conceit. But all things having a purpose, perhaps that is God's final effort to save the obstreperous male from himself!

HARRY GRAY
Royal Oak, Michigan

SIRS:

Whoever you are, Mr. Marine, I love you. You have put down, in admirable literary style, my very feelings on the subject of homosexuality dominating the so-called Arts—but more than that, you have given a tremendous boost to my flagging spirits about being a WOMAN and not a nubile teeny-bopper or a mini-skirted high fashion colt.

You've done more for me than six months on an analyst's couch in helping me to realize that the only similarity between the Playmate of the Month and me is that we are both creased in the middle.

CONSTANCE LEVINE
Forest Hills, New York

SIRS:

Without challenging the general accuracy of Gene Marine's wisecrack about "Our Man Flint," I'd like to point out that there was never a mention of "surgery" in the gag about converting girls into pleasure units. It was all pills and flashing lights—early Leary is all.

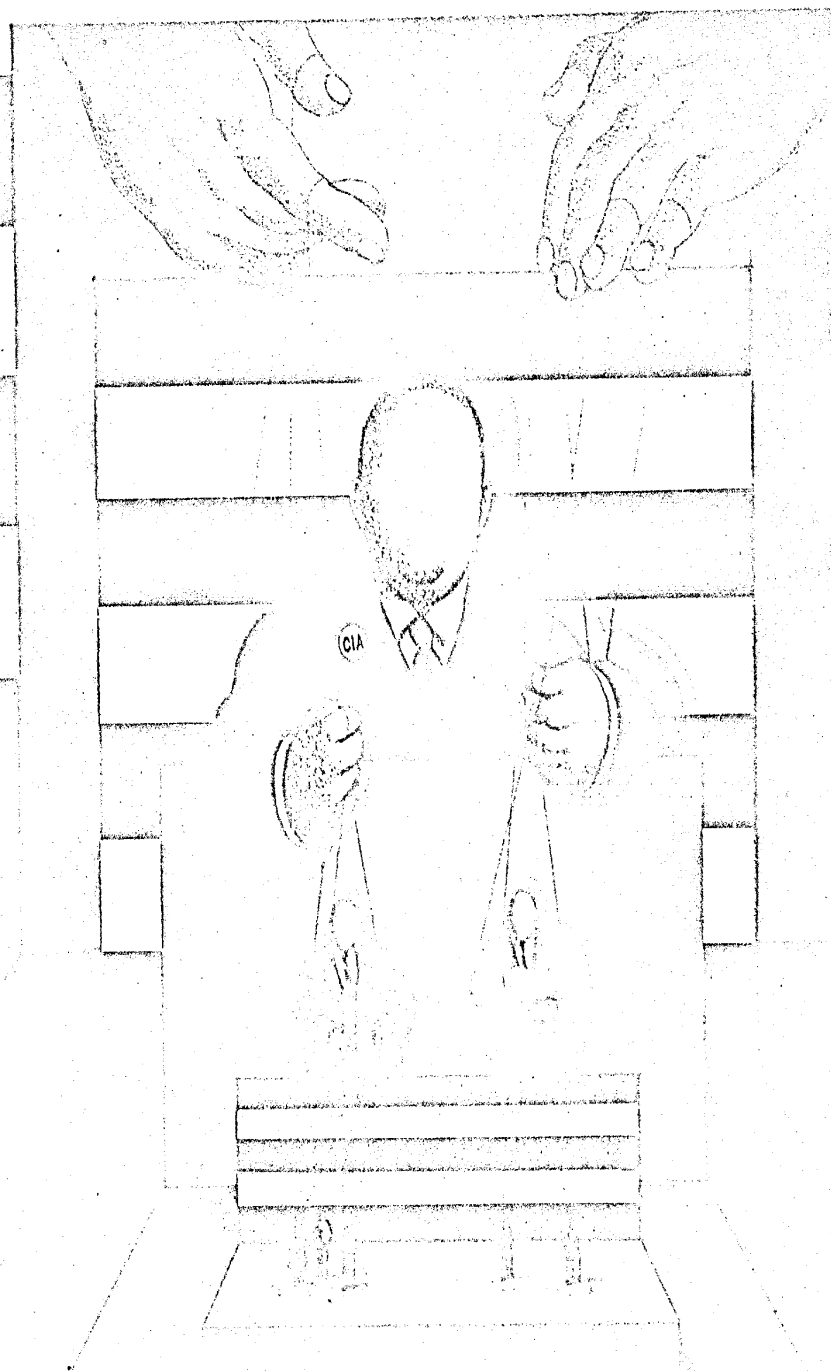
As for Mr. Marine's reading of the intent, I can see how he reached the conclusion, but a good look at the material which was cut out of the final film might have convinced him that our problems were thespian, rather than lesbian.

SAUL DAVID
20th Century Fox Productions
Beverly Hills, California

SIRS:

Mr. Marine would not have had "a good time at Truman's party." It took him four pages to tell us that he wouldn't know how.

NANCY GOETZ
Washington, D.C.



1] How I got in, and why I came out of the Cold:

WHEN IT WAS ANNOUNCED that a CIA recruiter would visit the university campus where I was studying, I decided to contact him. I had previously served in a military intelligence branch and had found a certain challenge and spirit of adventure, even an intellectual stimulation, in gathering and fitting together the pieces that composed an intelligence picture. It was 1959, before the thaw in the Cold War and the start of the hot little war in Vietnam. I was what might be called, for the sake of political labeling, a liberal Democrat, and I was convinced that a professional intelligence apparatus was vital to the defense of a free society. I envisioned the CIA as a tidy professional group modeled after Britain's MI-5, and I pictured its role as confined to a battle of wits with "the opposition."

The CIA recruiter was noncommittal. I knew my background would interest him. But he merely jotted down my vital statistics and vaguely remarked he would "be in touch."

Months went by, and I had almost forgotten about the CIA when I received a long distance call. "We're really interested in you; can you come to Washington?" This time the testing started in earnest. First a rigid physical exam, then psychological tests. Finally I was ushered into an office for a psychiatric interview, and there sat the psychiatrist with his fly unzipped. I studiously ignored the display, not wishing to embarrass him, but later learned that the little psychological shocker was just one of many to test a man's personality.

The wind-up of this grueling session was a series of interviews. It was evident by this time that they pretty well knew what made me tick. I left, certain only that all of me—my past, present and future—was now securely and permanently filed with the CIA.

It was only a short time before I got the call: "We can use you." I reported to a ramshackle World War

II building in the Foggy Bottom section of Washington that the CIA had inherited as the postwar stepchild of OSS. There were 60 of us in the training class. We were called Junior Officer Trainees, or JOTs; The CIA refrains from calling its direct employees "agents."

In background and appearance we were a fairly heterogeneous lot. One JOT was a lanky professional type; another a brawny former athlete; another a rotund, jovial stereotype of the insurance salesman. The largest group of us seemed to be from the Ivy League universities, with a heavy representation from West Coast institutions such as Stanford and UCLA, and a fair-sized contingent from the Southern schools. As for political outlook, the largest part of the group was what I would term establishment liberal, although there were a few jingoists like the cocky, rather loud-mouthed ex-Marine and the tough, would-be Kentucky colonel. There were no Negroes (a later class did have one) and no Orientals. There were no women JOTs either, because the Agency was leery of investing considerable time and money in marriage-prone females. However, it turned out that there were several husband-wife teams posted to small remote stations, in which case the wife was given a nominal JOT classification and trained to assist in routine clerical work.

I found that the bulk of my classmates had been motivated to join the CIA by extra-monetary considerations—the standard pay was hardly a princely sum. A JOT started at government pay level GS-7, at approximately \$7500 a year, although a JOT with a PhD was usually afforded a GS-9. By comparison, and it was a source of some disgruntlement, FBI agents, who didn't have to risk their necks outside the U.S. started at GS-10. But the CIA quite logically feels that if one is in strictly for mercenary reasons, he is susceptible to being bought off by "the opposition." Melodramatic as it may seem, I would say that the vast majority of our class had

as told to the editors

Photography by Carl Fischer

been attracted by the romance, real or imagined, that they associated with the espionage trade.

FIRST ON THE TRAINING AGENDA was a two-day indoctrination. There were pep talks on the history of the CIA and the indispensable role it was playing in fighting communism and preserving the American way of life. The pitch was subtle; these were not brass-band superpatriots, but intelligent men. Espionage is a dirty game, we were told, but the ruthless and unscrupulous tactics of "the opposition" left us no alternative but to fight fire with fire.

We were shown Agency-produced films depicting the CIA in action, films which displayed a kind of Hollywood flair for the dramatic that is not uncommon inside the Agency. A colleague who went through a 1963 training class told of a film on the U-2 episode. In his comments prefatory to the film, his instructor intimated that President Eisenhower "blew his cool" when he did not continue to deny that the U-2 was a CIA aircraft. But no matter, said the instructor, the U-2 was in sum an Agency triumph, for the planes had been overflying Soviet territory for at least five years. During this time the Soviet leaders had fumed in frustration, unable to bring down a U-2 on the one hand, and reluctant to let the world know of their inability, on the other. The photography contained in the film confirmed that the "flying cameras" had accomplished a remarkable job of reconnaissance. When the film ended and the lights came on, the instructor gestured toward the back of the room and announced: "Gentlemen, the hero of our film." There stood Francis Gary Powers. The trainees rose and applauded.

The training lectures and films gave analyses of domestic and international communism. The Communist Party, USA, was described as something of a toothless tiger, defanged by FBI counterintelligence. But international communism was touted as a formidable global threat. It soon became evident that in the CIA idiom, the term "anti-communism" was a recurring shibboleth, and I became aware that the Agency's covert support of political factions around the world was predicated on how "anti-communist" those factions were. It was not until much later that I realized that many of the factions favored by the CIA were equally, if not more, totalitarian than their communist opposition.

During the lectures, the jealousies that exist between the various "spook" agencies forming the intelligence community began to surface. I recall one instructor boasting that the CIA never had a defector, while the National Security Agency was as "leaky as

an old tub." Nor was there any love lost between the CIA and the FBI, an alienation that had historical roots. When OSS was disbanded after World War II, J. Edgar Hoover pushed to take over its overseas intelligence functions but was rebuffed by President Truman, who was chary of concentrating too much power in one pair of hands. When Truman created the CIA as a surrogate, Hoover never forgot it, and he seemed to delight in letting the Agency know he knew of its missteps.

The urgency of being security-conscious at all times was constantly drummed into us. We were instructed that if another JGOT ever became ill or was injured in our presence, we were not to leave him alone, on the theory that in a semi-conscious condition he might unwittingly betray secret information. We were also told not to detail our backgrounds to our fellow trainees. This set the stage for a little security game. One by one we were taken aside and confidentially assigned another trainee from whom we were to try to casually elicit as much background information as possible. Not only did the exercise demonstrate how much data could be gleaned from a person without his knowing it, but it detected several trainees who were prone to babble about their past in disregard of instructions.

Security precautions taken by the Agency were extreme. Even inside the closely guarded premises, typewriter ribbons had to be removed from the machines at the close of business and locked up in safes. For highly secret conversations within the Agency we were not to use the ordinary intra-building phones, but a special "red line" whose security was repeatedly being checked. And we knew that at any time, in training or in the field, we might be picked at random for a polygraph test to insure that we had not become a security risk in the interim.

Despite this obsession with a security rubric, the CIA was in some ways vulnerable. For one thing, the Agency encouraged bachelors to share apartments, and married couples tended to cluster together in the same apartments or housing developments; it didn't take long for neighbors familiar with the Washington scene to sense a "spook." Although most of our social life was spent with other Agency people, we did go to "outside" cocktail parties and social affairs, and when the inevitable question "What do you do?" arose, we would mumble something about being an "evaluator with DOD" (Department of Defense), then wait for the cynical smile. Some sporting types co-inhabited with girls, usually Agency girls, but nonetheless, they were leaving themselves open to compromise and possible breaches of security.

AFTER THE INITIAL training phase we entered the phase called Tradecraft, in which we learned the actual methods and techniques of a spy. Since we were to leave Washington, we were to tell anyone who asked that we were on a volunteer DOD mission of "program evaluation." The Agency became "the company," a euphemism commonly used by CIA officers. We flew in a plane belonging to one of the CIA's private airlines to a base several hundred miles away.

The Tradecraft course included how to recruit agents, file reports and conduct physical surveillances. Experts in invisible inks and writing, bugging and wiretapping, lockpicking, photography, microfilming and microdots, and other espionage crafts flew from Washington to teach us the rudiments. We weren't expected to acquire expertise ourselves—we could always request "the company" to send out a safecracker or forger. But we were expected to develop some proficiency in case of emergency.

We were flown to New York City and practiced tapping and bugging each other's hotel rooms. The extent of the CIA's electronic eavesdropping, incidentally, is anybody's guess. The Agency has sophisticated devices that can be attached to telephone trunk lines and automatically record conversations. The FBI has a measure of accountability for its eavesdropping, but the CIA could be spending millions of dollars a year on the practice, and no one would be the wiser.

We drilled in radio communication and dead drops (special places to leave messages for agents). We ran through practical problems: for one, the proper approach to a Communist Party member who was thought to be ripe for defection. We staged exercises similar to war games in which we were CIA agents in an enemy country. We would hang around outside a naval yard, for example, quizzing workers to see how much "intel" about the yard and the ships we could obtain. We had to take surreptitious photographs, from less than five feet, of a policeman, a store detective and others. In case we were picked up by the police, the FBI or shipyard security people, we were instructed to try to talk our way out. Failing that, we were given a special Washington number to call, but to call it obviously meant we had failed as potential spies.

It soon became apparent that our instructors were sizing up our suitability even during off-duty hours. In one gambit they would join us at the base bar and keep rounds of drinks coming to test our alcohol tolerance. A couple of trainees who became tipsy after a few drinks were quietly phased out of the program. But the

bar was also a prime source of information. I discovered from other base personnel, over a few friendly drinks, that groups of Cubans were secretly being trained in an isolated part of the base. I presume these Cubans later went ashore at the Bay of Pigs.

The Bay of Pigs, incidentally, was a terrible blow to CIA morale. After the debacle, the word spread through the company grapevine (I assume it represented the thinking at the top, since it was repeated by fairly high officials) that the operation had failed because "Kennedy lost his nerve" and reneged on a commitment to provide air cover for the landing force. At the time of the invasion, Castro had only a few obsolete Liberators, Mustangs and so forth, a ragtag air force that could have been driven from the sky by planes taking off from Florida. Kennedy got scared, it was said, so that the planes had to take off from Central America and thus were left with little time over the beaches. The equipment used in the invasion—ships, planes, guns—was surplus purchased by other nations, re-purchased by the CIA and completely "sanitized" to remove all American markings and serial numbers. In time, Agency employees took the philosophical position that "our exploits are unsung, our misadventures are known to the world." Still it is strange that even after the Bay of Pigs the "company" continued to train Cuban counter-insurgents at the base, and may still be training them. It apparently has never abandoned hope of clandestinely forming another invasion force.

FOLLOWING OUR "GRADUATION" from training school, we drew assignments. There are two main sides to the "company" house. One is DDI (Deputy Director for Intelligence), which is the overt side. DDI openly collects and collates material that may have some bearing on intelligence. Its representatives, who carry CIA credentials, recruit American citizens for the manifold positions within the Agency, brief and de-brief certain cooperative U.S. and foreign citizens who travel abroad, and perform similar functions. Most of the FBI retreads who join the "company" are funneled either into DDI or into the Agency's security department. Security does personnel screenings, keeps tabs on the security of the "company's" farflung operations, and acts as a sort of inspection staff, or "gloom squad," to keep personnel in line and check on their activities.

The other side of the house, completely divorced from the DDI, is the DDP (Deputy Director for Plans), which handles covert or "black" operations. This is the down-and-dirty phase, embracing everything from espi-

onage, or "intel," to the overthrow of governments. Some idea of the sweep of the DDP's activities can be gained from several recent projects: financing, training and supplying the Thai border police; training the household security force of the King of Nepal; supplying anti-communist guerrilla bands in Tibet; and using Project Camelot, an anthropological cover, for political manipulation in South America. Thus it was not surprising that the CIA's man in the White House, who worked closely with McGeorge Bundy (and probably works closely with his successor), is a member of the DDP.

A DDI official I met tried to proselytize me by arguing that 90 percent of the Agency's intelligence comes through overt sources. "These spooks with the big budgets play a lot of cloak-and-dagger games," he said, "but not many of them pay off." Whether his estimate was true or not, I wasn't about to be talked out of the elite DDP.

My first assignment was on one of the foreign desks at headquarters. I reviewed reports coming in from overseas and made recommendations. Every once in a while I had to pull maps and photographs of cities behind the Iron Curtain and select park benches, bridges and other sites suitable for dead drops, meets and signal posts. Much of this material was pitifully outdated, and I had a sinking feeling some of the sites might no longer exist. It was at this point that some of the gloss began to rub off the Agency image.

This was, of course, a demanding business, and the Agency tolerated no mediocracy or dead wood. I ran into many veteran "intel" types, men who had spent perhaps 15 years in the field, who were being pulled back to headquarters and superannuated. They were washed up, and they knew it; they had spent their entire career in "intel" and knew no other trade, although the "company" makes efforts to ease them into the National Security Agency, Army Intelligence, or some other agency in which they can finish out their time until retirement (after all, a disgruntled agent is dangerous to security).

The extent of the Agency's operations is awesome—and a bit frightening. DDP operatives were planted in virtually every U.S. government branch that had foreign aspects, for example, the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development (AID), Radio Free Europe and the State Department (although State shied away from bestowing full diplomatic status on "company" men in a half-effort to keep its skirts clean abroad). The Agency runs all sorts of commercial and industrial front companies overseas. Air America in the Far East is a now well-known

"company" enterprise; the Civil Air Transport is no longer subsidized by the Agency, but at least one of its board of directors is still a "company" man.

YET "RIDING THE DESK" in Washington headquarters did not impart any deep-seated doubts about the Agency and its role. The actual intelligence operations were distant happenings and it was easy to be academic and objective. When messages from an agent in a foreign country did not contain the safety signal—a deliberate mistake or misspelling to indicate that all was well and it became obvious that he had been captured and was being forced to communicate, the terrible fate that awaited him was only an abstraction to me. I didn't know the agent's name, only his code name, and he was no more than a pawn on a great chess board.

But eventually, when I was sent to a field station, such detachment was no longer possible. It was not that I feared arrest or exposure; I had been well trained and was confident of my Tradecraft skills. But suddenly the pieces I had manipulated so intellectually from my ivory tower at headquarters became real people. During the tedious process of recruiting and running them, I came to know them intimately.

Among them were students, many foreign students, and young idealists. From various sources I obtained reports, descriptions and evaluations of them, so that by the time I requested permission from headquarters to attempt to recruit them, I knew them like a book.

In the face of this interpersonal relationship, I often had to use the Agency's bag of dirty tricks to nail down a man's compliance. As an example, I might give him \$10 "expenses" for his help in performing some innocuous task and get him to sign a U.S. government receipt. Then I would kite the amount to \$1000 by adding zeros and threaten to expose his "valuable assistance" to us if he didn't cooperate. In time I came to despise this kind of deceit, especially when used against the young and the naive idealists. Their faces began to haunt me. The attrition among agents on both sides was high, and they probably sensed it. Some, obviously terrified at the thought, simply failed to meet me as arranged and dropped from sight. Others were arrested, and they disappeared. The ones that remained had been transformed into cynical, hardened spies.

This was not what I had bargained for. It was not pro pitted against pro. I was the pro, cheating, cajoling, persuading and blackmailing decent young men into a sordid business—all in the name of democracy.

Assassination was never explicitly mentioned, but

the impression was unmistakably left with us that it was at our disposal should there be no other way. I remember the training class' suspicion fell on an enigmatic group called Staff D, which was referred to only in whispers. There was no Staff A, B, or C. What did the "D" stand for? No one knew for sure, but a co-worker said his class had been told a story with a clear implication: a man photographed one of the staging areas in Nicaragua for the Bay of Pigs invasion; his photos included the numbers and markings on American planes which had not yet been removed. Hitchhiking from Florida to New York, he talked about it to a man who picked him up. The man chanced to be a CIA man returning from one of the Agency's numerous staging areas in Florida; he notified "the company." The hitchhiker was intercepted and interrogated. He could not be bought off—he was an idealist who was going to divulge the whole thing to the newspapers. "Well," the instructor who told the story stressed, "that man was on his way to the newspapers when he was struck by a laundry truck and killed. And those photos just plain disappeared."

There came a time when these things preyed on me incessantly, so rather than take a second tour in the field I opted to return to headquarters and from there go to paramilitary school. The stated purpose of paramilitary school was to train and equip us to become instructors for village peasants who wanted to defend themselves against guerrillas. I could believe in that.

Some of the training was conventional: but then we moved to the CIA's demolition training headquarters. It was here that Cubans had been, and still were, being trained in conventional and underwater demolition. And it was here that we received training in tactics which hardly conform to the Geneva Convention.

The array of outlawed weaponry with which we were familiarized included bullets that explode on impact, silencer-equipped machineguns, home-made explosives and self-made napalm for stickier and hotter Molotov cocktails. We were taught demolition techniques, practicing on late model cars, railroad trucks, and gas storage tanks. And we were shown a quick method of saturating a confined area with flour or fertilizer, causing an explosion like in a dustbin or granary.

And then there was a diabolical invention that might be called a mini-cannon. It was constructed of a concave piece of steel fitted into the top of a #10 can filled with a plastic explosive. When the device was detonated, the tremendous heat of friction of the steel turning inside out made the steel piece a white-hot projectile. There were a number of uses for the mini-

cannon, one of which was demonstrated to us using an old Army school bus. It was fastened to the gasoline tank in such a fashion that the incendiary projectile would rupture the tank and fling flaming gasoline the length of the bus interior, incinerating anyone inside. It was my lot to show the rest of the class how easily it could be done. It worked, my God how it worked. I stood there watching the flames consume the bus. It was, I guess, the moment of truth. What did a busload of burning people have to do with freedom? What right did I have, in the name of democracy and the CIA, to decide that random victims should die? The intellectual game was over. I had to leave.

I RESIGNED for "personal reasons." The resignation was reluctantly accepted, for the Agency is always loath to lose a promising young JOT. I was subjected to the usual blandishments and veiled threats. But I had had it. I could see the road ahead: a career of lying, entrapping, possibly killing. The process had already begun: duplicity had become second nature to me and even in non-Agency relationships I had trouble telling the truth.

Up to now the American people have had little inkling of what goes on behind the CIA's curtain of secrecy. The decision to recruit students, to employ treachery, assassination and terrorism has been made by a small clique of CIA executives as their version of the requirements of "national security." I have told this story because I believe that the people, knowing the facts, would have quite a different version.

We have seen recently how the CIA infection has spread into myriad facets of our national life. The Agency is virulent because, in the final analysis, it is a bureaucracy. But unlike other bureaucracies it is unfettered by the normal checks and balances. It receives untold hundreds of millions of dollars annually with practically no accountability.

Thus it is a dangerous paradox that an agency created to preserve "national security" has become a clear danger to the American system. The continued proliferation of the CIA, with its corrupting money and its alien philosophy, could in the end destroy our democratic society. As Justice Brandeis once said, using the philosophy that the end justified the means in the name of justice invites terrible retribution.

Unless we restore the CIA to its original concept—a modest, stringently regulated group of professionals concerned purely with intelligence gathering—that retribution may not be too far away.

2] How the CIA turns foreign students into traitors:

THE CIA IS CURRENTLY carrying on a major campaign within the United States of recruiting, and when necessary, blackmailing foreign students who are studying in this country, and turning them into spies against their own homeland. Six full-time agents are assigned to this program working out of the district offices of the CIA. They move from campus to campus in search of new foreign student talent.

The agents working the campuses operate under a Department of Defense cover. They carry Department of Defense credentials issued under a pseudonym and registered with DOD, in case anyone bothers to check.

The CIA works with foundations and professors who cooperate on the basis of "national interest," steering the agent to likely prospects among the students they know.

A source intimate with the CIA student recruitment operation gave Ramparts this picture of how it works:

The agent telephones the prospect, states he is from the Department of Defense and explains that he is concerned about how foreign students are getting along in the United States: "I would like to talk to you about your problems so we can help future students," is one approach. If the student sounds receptive, the agent immediately sets up an appointment. During a brief interview, he sizes the prospect up. If he looks promising, the agent sets up another appointment. This starts a series of meetings in which the agent—without revealing his true identity—pumps the student on his political views and tests his responses. In the meantime, the "firm" initiates a security check on the student.

While contact is being established, the agent asks the student to perform some small service for which he is "rewarded" with \$10 or \$20 for "expenses." However, the student must sign a U.S. government receipt "for services rendered." If the student should threaten to blow the story, he can be threatened by the vouchers which can be turned over to his government's embassy.

Finally, the proposal to engage in subversion against the student's government is formally made and substantial cash payments, sometimes up to \$10,000 a

year, are offered. Usually the guarantee of permanent status in the United States, if the student wishes to remain here when the job is completed, is thrown into the deal. If the student agrees, the agent then asks him to write out a contract in his own handwriting, and the agreement is irrevocably completed. Once the contract is signed, the student is hooked; he can be intimidated at any time by the threat of forwarding a copy of his contract to his embassy.

In intensive interviews on campuses around the country, Ramparts reporters have encountered numerous foreign students who have confirmed the attempts at CIA recruitment. Most of them have been unwilling to say this publicly out of fear for their own status in this country. One who wasn't, perhaps because he was already being harassed by the government, was a young man from Afghanistan named Abdul Latif Hotaki.

Hotaki came to this country in 1957, to study agricultural journalism at California State Polytechnic College, and soon became active in the Afghanistan Students Association. In 1961, he went to Berkeley to meet with Zia H. Noorzay, then president of the Afghan students.

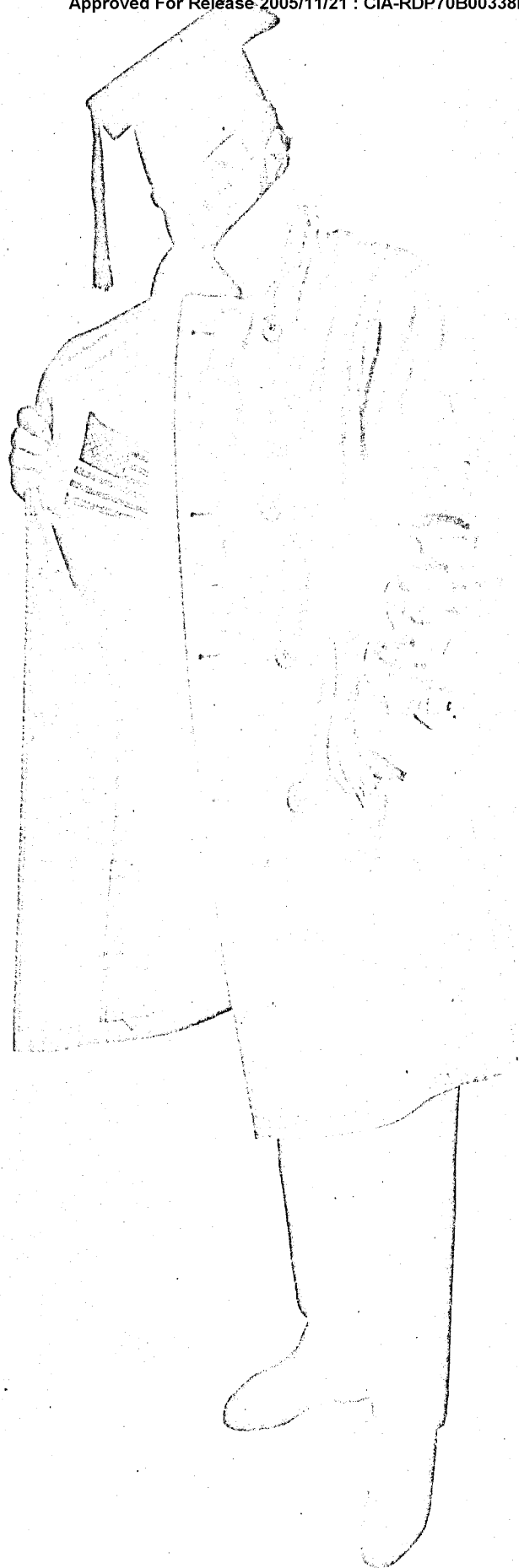
When Hotaki got to Berkeley, he went to Noorzay's apartment. To Hotaki's surprise, a third person showed up—a CIA agent. His assignment: to recruit Hotaki to work for the CIA after his return to Afghanistan.

"The agent," says Hotaki, "was about 30 or 32. He told me money was no object. He said the purpose of the involvement was to make sure that Afghanistan maintained its friendship with the U.S." The three men talked in Noorzay's apartment. But Hotaki stalled off the agent and told him he would think about it.

Noorzay and other members of the Afghan student group urged Hotaki to accept the CIA's offer; it was a good thing, they argued—you got money, and scholarship aid. Noorzay told Hotaki that he had first been introduced to the CIA by an official of the American Friends of the Middle East—a CIA front organization which had regularly financed the student group.

According to Hotaki, the CIA tried twice more to recruit him. One attempt was made at the 1962 con-

by the editors



vention of the ASA in Washington, D.C. The second attempt came soon after, when Hotaki was in the San Francisco office of the American Friends of the Middle East. An official in that office told Hotaki that "scholarships would be available for me to attend Harvard, Stanford, or any other university I wanted to go to."

The CIA finally realized Hotaki wasn't going to cooperate. Perhaps because of this, the Immigration Service began harassing him about his visa, and for the last several years has been trying to deport him back to Afghanistan, despite the fact that Hotaki has an American wife and two children. His last deportation order, in February, was stayed only through legal aid provided by Los Angeles TV commentator Louis Lomax.

In the meantime, Noorzay, the ex-president of ASA, has returned to Afghanistan and is currently president of the Afghanistan state treasury. Hotaki claims a good number of the key officials in the Afghanistan government who studied in this country "are either CIA trained or indoctrinated. Some are cabinet level people."

CIA-FINANCED EDUCATIONAL and cultural organizations such as the American Friends of the Middle East provide the environment which improve the prospects of the kind of recruitment that was attempted on Abdul Hotaki.

AFME was organized in 1951, ostensibly for the non-political purpose of "bettering understanding between the peoples of the Middle East and the United States." Originally a militantly pro-Arab and anti-Zionist propaganda group, it has come, over the years, to be one of the chief arms of the CIA in the world of foreign students. The change in AFME seems to have taken place about 1960, soon after its current executive vice president, Edward W. Overton, came to the organization after eight years as a little-known federal bureaucrat. With Overton's arrival, AFME's income suddenly jumped: the CIA provided it with nearly \$1 million in 1960—more than 90 per cent of its income. (The bulk of the CIA's largesse came via five foundations identified as CIA fronts: the San Jacinto Foundation of Houston, the Chesapeake Foundation of Baltimore, the Andrew Hamilton Fund of Philadelphia, the Broad-High Foundation of Columbus, and the Granary Fund of Boston.) And if holding the purse strings were not enough, the CIA also has good friends among the staff of AFME, including director Kermit Roosevelt, the CIA agent who engineered the overthrow of Premier Mossadegh of Iran in 1953.

Much of the CIA money goes to the AFME department of student affairs. Through this branch, AFME works with other American educational organizations,

like the prestigious Institute of International Education, and with official government agencies, in bringing foreign students to this country. But AFME's department of student affairs also meddles in the politics of the foreign student organizations in the United States, using its CIA money to pay the bills of these organizations and as bait for them to take the "correct" political line.

The case of the Iranian Students Association is illustrative. The association was established in 1953, with the financial help and prodding of AFME. Until 1961, the Iranian students regularly received several thousand dollars each year from AFME for their activities. However, in 1961, the political complexion of the student organization changed to one of opposition to the dictatorial regime of the shah of Iran. AFME immediately cut off its support. Representatives of AFME, however, continued to appear at the Iranian students' annual convention to lobby for a change in the students' position to one of pro-shah, or at least a non-political one. Hassan Lebastchi, a former president of the students' association, remembers approaching Earl Bunting, chairman of AFME in 1963, to ask him whether AFME would be willing to support some specific non-political projects, such as publishing a directory of Iranian students in the U.S. Bunting asked whether the student group had changed its anti-shah position. Lebastchi said no. "In that case," said Bunting, "I'm sorry, we cannot help you."

The Afghan students, however, continued to get \$3000-\$4000 yearly from AFME.

They also received funds from the prestigious Asia Foundation, which in turn has received money from at least three different CIA conduits. Dr. Nate Kamrany, a past president of the Afghan Students Association who still advises the group and who now teaches economics at UCLA, commented blandly, "We don't assume that all CIA people are unfriendly. The CIA has more people with PhDs than any other organization in the U.S. Time magazine said so. If the CIA asks me for advice on any subject, I will be happy to give it."

It is sufficient scandal that the CIA has secretly used public funds to coopt and subvert independent American student organizations. It is that much more abominable when foreign students, lured into this country by the promise of honesty, are bribed and corrupted, and turned into traitors against their own societies.

The foreign student association, with its CIA support, provides a convenient vehicle for entrapping the foreign student and turning him into a puppet. The price America pays for such cleverness, however, is a high one. We are becoming a nation of puppeteers.

3] How the CIA makes liars out of union leaders:

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT of the AFL-CIO, is either a liar or a fool. He is a liar if his disclaimer of knowledge about the CIA subsidizing American unions is false; he is a fool if his disclaimer is true, for then he is revealed as ignorant of what has been common corridor talk for a long time.

In fact, the secret relationship between the CIA and American union leaders is only one aspect of a larger problem; the American government has contracted out both its open and secret foreign relations with workers and trade unions in other countries to President Meany and his secretary of state, Jay Lovestone. Under the direction of Lovestone, an unprincipled political manipulator who headed the American Communist Party until he was deposed in 1929, the AFL-CIO has pursued a policy of fanatical, sometimes even demented anti-communism which occasionally has been in direct opposition to the stated foreign policy of the U.S. government. And under the direction of Lovestone's long-time followers, Irving Brown and Serafino Romualdi, the legitimate functions of America's unions have been corrupted and perverted.

In all of these operations the CIA, with its unlimited fronts and staff, has played a major role in recent years. CIA agents have been placed in unions and CIA funds have financed a major part of their overseas operations. In addition, the activities of some organizations peripheral to the trade unions have also been financed, in part or whole, by the CIA and used as a cover for CIA agents. Thus, a

man ostensibly on the payroll of an American union, but who is listed in its report as either an "office employee" or without any identification, made three trips in 1963 to British Guiana for the purpose, according to a secret British police report, of helping to finance the overthrow of the Cheddi Jagan government.

Also, every month for many years, checks from CIA conduit agencies were made out to D.A. Knight, president of the Oil Workers International Union, who in turn endorsed the checks over to the International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers, to finance its ten offices in all parts of the world. Many American unions established such international operations after World War II; they served to bring together workers of common industries but different countries. And in order to cover up the true sources of its funds, Americans who controlled the IFPCW had to lie to the foreign unions affiliated to it. Foreign unions were told that the budget of the organization, which was over \$350,000 a year, was mostly based on the contributions and per capita taxes of the parent Oil Workers Union—although the American union did not report such contributions to its own members. To make certain that no one discovered the CIA contributions, the financial report of the Federation was audited and pronounced accurate by Samuel Butler, an accountant who himself headed The League for International Social and Cooperative Development, which was one of the several mysterious "foundations" which helped finance

by Paul Jacobs

RAMPARTS 25

the operation of the IFPCW.

So also did the State Dept. finance the initial operation of a school for foreign workers, sponsored by the Communication Workers of America. At this school, communication workers from all over the world received training in such trade union practices as organizing, grievance procedures and labor history. In addition, they were shown the political advantages of the American trade union model over that advocated by the communists and neutralists. The CIA supported the international program of the American Newspaper Guild and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers. The CIA has been involved in the work of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, allegedly a private organization of union leaders and businessmen, operating extensively throughout Latin America. The board of directors of the AIFLD includes George Meany and J. Peter Grace, head of the Grace shipping interests, who is associated with Human Events, one of the right wing's voices in America. The close relationship between the AIFLD and the American government is attested to by the fact that, on occasion, the organization has used State Department diplomatic pouches to communicate with its own personnel in the field.

The executive director of the AIFLD was Lovestone's follower, Serafino Romualdi, who also served on the board of directors of a mysterious organization, the Center for Labor and Social Studies, with ostensible headquarters in Rome. The Center carries on extensive operations throughout Africa, Asia and the Far East, although at least two of its European board members do not know exactly what it does. The Center was organized by Sol Levitas, then editor of the New Leader, who claimed it was supported by private funds. The Americans on its board of directors, in addition to Romualdi, are Ben Josephson, who refused to discuss the Center's finances, and who is the director of the Tamiment Institute, part of the old social-democratic movement in New York; and David Dubinsky, who gave Lovestone his first real base in the American unions.

Indeed, without the help of Dubinsky, Lovestone would never have achieved the key position he now holds, where vast resources, political and financial, are available to him and his followers.

TODAY, LOVESTONE, WITH THE HELP of such government agencies as the CIA, is eminently more successful in his pursuit of power than he was as a leader of the American Communist Party during the '20s. Lovestone was expelled from the party in 1929, although he tried desperately to remain inside it. After his expulsion, he organized his own communist

group and continued to seek readmittance to the official communist organization. During this period, he was busily engaged in setting up dual unions to compete with those in the AFL, including one in the needle trades, and later in attempting to take over the United Automobile Workers.

He almost succeeded in that enterprise, for he exerted considerable influence over the union's president, Homer M. Martin—especially since Martin's assistant was Irving Brown. And, during that period, Lovestone's followers flocked to Detroit to get on the UAW payroll, where they remained until Martin was dumped from the union presidency.

Finally, in 1939, Lovestone gave up his efforts to get back into the Communist Party and shifted his allegiance to Dubinsky and the U.S. government.

But if Lovestone failed to take over the UAW, he has more than made up for it by the way in which he has slowly, over the years, taken control of foreign policy in the AFL-CIO. That takeover effort began when Lovestone, operating under the aegis of Dubinsky's union (the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union) organized the Free Trade Union Committee, whose initial work was the rescuing of European unionists and socialists from Nazi prison camps.

As World War II came to a close and the communists replaced the Nazis as the American enemy, the focus of Lovestone's efforts shifted too. His Free Trade Union Committee began to rescue trade unionists and socialists from communist prison camps. Under Lovestone's direction, and with the active support of Dubinsky, the Free Trade Union Committee began to play a very active part in the Cold War, staking out for its battlefield the struggle against the communist-controlled unions, or those non-communist unions which did not accept the manipulations of Lovestone and Brown.

Initially, Lovestone acted only as the ILGWU's secretary of state, but shortly after the Cold War replaced World War II, he moved up from the narrow confines of the ILGWU to take over the direction of foreign policy for the AFL and later for the AFL-CIO. He succeeded in organizing the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as a rival to the World Federation of Trade Unions, organized during World War II to include communist unions.

Vested by George Meany with almost complete authority, Lovestone played a dominant role in a world-wide operation which has used the financial resources of the U.S. government. But because anti-communism was the only glue holding this structure together, the AFL-CIO is in the position of having its foreign relations director and members of his staff linked with some of the most

right wing organizations in the United States. Dubinsky, the one-time socialist who became a New Dealer, now seems to accept without a public demurrer the spectacle of Lovestone serving on the board of directors of the American Security Council, a super-patriotic group with strong right wing ties.

Irving Brown, Lovestone's lieutenant in the UAW, became the AFL representative in Europe where he traveled with what seemed to be unlimited funds at his disposal—funds which enabled him to put his people into office or depose those European union leaders who were either pro-communist, or at least not vehemently anti-communist enough to satisfy the political demands of Brown and Lovestone. Brown's chief activities were breaking up a strike of French dock workers directed against Marshall Plan shipments and the splitting of the French and Italian labor movements in efforts to prevent the communists from taking over. Brown always had direct access to U.S. officials in Europe, especially to those officials of the Marshall Plan who, like himself, were former members of Lovestone's 1930's revolutionary organization. They too, like Lovestone, had moved from revolutionary socialism to the service of American foreign policy. Some of them remained in government service as labor attaches, always serving the man who got them their jobs.

It was during this period, too, that Brown advocated the rehabilitation of all French trade unionists who had supported the Vichy government, because, according to Brown, some of them were later blacklisted at communist instigation. At the same time, Brown proposed that any communist trade unionists who had supported the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 themselves be blacklisted. He called for outlawing the communist trade unions in a speech in 1951 in which he also advocated using repressive police measures and adopting methods of operation "in the shadows" against the communists. His audience at the American Club in Brussels was a group of American businessmen, journalists and foreign service people.

IN THE EARLY 50's THE AFL, and later the AFL-CIO, was being prepared for its use by the CIA, and anti-communism was still the basic criterion by which union leaders were being judged at home and abroad. The CIO had expelled its own communist dominated unions and it thus seemed perfectly natural for the CIO Oil Workers to become engaged, with CIA help, in learning "how to operate in the shadows." It began to create an anti-communist union structure which would bring together petroleum workers from all over the world. The union's president, D. A. Knight, had himself been in a few fights with the communists, who were trying to take control of his union. Knight had served as chair-

man of the CIO committee which tried and expelled the longshoremen's union. But Knight's relatively small union was not able to finance an international operation on its own. So from the start the CIA provided the funds which paid the salaries and expenses of the IFPCW's American staff, which worked out of the Federation's headquarters in Denver.

The Federation flourished under the prodding of Knight and the direction of Lloyd Haskins (executive secretary), and carried out open trade union activities in other countries. It helped foreign oil workers organize, published a monthly newspaper, convened leadership training conferences, and opened more and more offices throughout the world. All of its public trade union activities were directed toward building foreign unions which would be sympathetic to American foreign policy and hostile to any alleged or real communist influence. The foreign unions which the Federation helped to create were built on the American model, even if that model had no real use in other countries, especially underdeveloped ones.

The Federation also arranged overseas junkets for American union officials and provided a kind of patronage station in its international offices abroad—without any cost to the union. Then, in 1965, an internal union conflict brought the CIA operations out from behind the closed doors of the union's office in Denver and into the corridors, lobbies and rooms in Miami where the union was holding its annual convention.

For some years prior to the convention, a few of Knight's political opponents in the union had been aware that all was not what it was said to be in the IFPCW operation, but, like most Americans, they could not conceive of CIA involvement in their union; instead, they assumed the IFPCW to be financed by the State Department. It was not until 1964 when, during hearings conducted by Congressman Wright Patman he revealed the existence of CIA conduit foundations, that they realized the IFPCW was being supported by the CIA. These men didn't like their union being secretly used as a tool of American Cold War policy. In 1965 Knight's opponents got their chance; Knight decided not to run for re-election and his opposition put up A. L. Grospron, a member of the union's rank and file executive committee, as their candidate.

The possibility of Grospron's election was a real threat to the CIA. Only a few months earlier a bitter election fight had taken place in the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, another union in which the CIA had a strong interest and a heavy financial investment. In the AFSCME the new president had quietly cut off the CIA operation within a few weeks after taking

office. And so, with that history before them, the geographically dispersed staff of the Federation flew to Miami and campaigned actively on behalf of Grospron's opponent. Many of their travel fares were probably picked up by our "secret government."

Nevertheless, Grospron won the election—although by a very narrow margin—and, as the CIA feared, he too quietly cut off CIA ties as soon as he took office, resisting all the pressures applied to him to keep them intact.

UNFORTUNATELY, NOT MANY union presidents have been so anxious to cut their organization's CIA ties; some waited until adverse publicity revealed the relationship, and not many union leaders have considered how far they have moved along the road of participating in the subordination of the real interests of workers in other countries to American foreign policy. This is what American policy has become under the CIA and Jay Lovestone, who are not accountable to the American public.

And the real interests of American workers could just as easily be sacrificed, for in a world where the CIA finances union activities, the lines between unions and employers are blurred. So, too, Jay Lovestone and his lieutenants, Brown and Romualdi, have made common cause with some of the most notorious anti-union employers and strident right wing groups in America. A typical example of this relationship is Lovestone's membership on the "strategy staff" of the American Security Council, whose function is the screening of alleged subversives on behalf of business firms, most of them anti-union.

Typically, Romualdi also has been associated with such groups as the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, and the Cuban Freedom Committee, but he is not alone in making such associations. Brown and George Meany also serve on the boards of some right wing groups, for they are as ardent in their anti-communism as is Lovestone. Indeed, these men are so hard-line that they refused to see some Japanese trade unionists visiting the U.S. on an official visit, sponsored by the State Department: they felt the Japanese union leaders were too far left in their thinking. It is reported that the AFL-CIO was able to prevent American unions from having displays at trade fairs in Communist block countries, and to stop a visit to the United States by a group of Algerian trade unionists because, once again, Meany and Lovestone disapproved of their political views.

In a speech George Meany made to the "Businessmen's Committee for Latin America," he said, "We believe in the capitalist system and we are members of the capitalist

society. We are dedicated to the preservation of this system which rewards the worker, which is one in which management also has such a great stake. The investors of risk capital also must be rewarded. . . . We are not satisfied, no, but we are not about to trade in our system for any other."

It is no wonder, then, that the CIA saw the American unions as a perfect group to manipulate.

Surely one of the most tragic aspects of the relationship between the CIA and the unions can be found in the quality of the people involved in them. The union leaders who allowed their organizations to be used as cover were people who were once among the very best of American liberals: Arnold Zander of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers could be found supporting liberal causes and actively working to change the nature of American life. His role vis-a-vis the CIA tells more about the failure of American liberalism than it does about the CIA.

So, too, the acceptance by the trade union leaders of an anti-communism which no longer has any relevance to the realities of world politics and national life is a clear sign that the internal life of American unions is in drastic need of revitalization. Even more, it means that union leaders must stop treating their members as if they cannot be told about the real world. Perhaps then the members might decide to follow the same course, but they should be given the opportunity to make that decision.

Once upon a time, many years ago, I was a representative of the Oil Workers International Union. In many ways, I was a stranger in the union, an outsider, an odd-ball in an organization of people whose values I didn't understand and who knew nothing of mine. But the union members I met in the local hall in Long Beach, the union members I drank with in the American Legion Hall in Maricopa, the union members I walked with on the picket line in Richmond, all of them were entitled to know what was being done in their names. And this tale is how they, the people of the union, the riggers out in the field, the operators inside the refinery, the instrument man fixing the gauge on pipelines, were cheated. They thought their union was doing one thing, when in fact it was doing something else.

This is the corrupting effect of the CIA in American life. It has made union leaders into liars. It has made union members mistrust what their elected officials tell them. Indeed, if Jay Lovestone were still a top official of the Communist Party, he could not have done a more effective job of destroying the belief of American workers that their unions exist to defend their interests and not the interests of other parties.